

NEIGHBOURS, WORLDS APART

Livelihood Prospects in Malawi and Mozambique

Bruce C. Glavovic
Massey University

Introduction

Nearly 13 million people in southern African face starvation, and 60 million people could suffer from associated health problems, in what is the 'worst humanitarian disaster in the world at the moment,' according to the the World Food Programme (<http://allafrica.com/stories/200207120013.html>, 11 July 2002). This predicament is not simply a food shortage, but a 'complex crisis' rooted in structural vulnerabilities, such as inequitable access to political and economic power, and conjunctural factors, such as natural hazards, that trigger emergency famines (Vogel & Smith 2002). This paper explores the nature of poverty-environment issues, linkages and driving forces in Malawi and Mozambique, two neighbours in this region, and poses the question: Should the same strategic interventions be initiated to promote sustainable livelihoods in these countries, and perhaps other countries in southern Africa?¹

The Context

*Mozambique*²

After centuries of colonial rule, and an 11 year war of independence, the Portuguese abruptly handed power to Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) in 1975. FRELIMO established a one-party state and promoted state-led growth, nationalising abandoned Portuguese businesses and reforming the agriculture, education and health sectors. In 1980, a further 12 years of armed struggle ensued, with Resistência Nacional de Moçambique (RENAMO) gaining control of most of the centre and north of the country, confining FRELIMO to coastal cities and a few garrisoned towns in the interior. More than one million people were killed, up to four million people were displaced, infrastructure

and productive assets were virtually destroyed, and the health care and primary education networks were disrupted. In the early 1990s, Mozambique was ranked the poorest nation on earth. Brought to the brink of collapse, a ceasefire agreement was signed in 1992. The first multi-party elections were held in 1994, returning FRELIMO to power. The second general elections were held in December 1999, with FRELIMO receiving 52.3 percent of the vote, effectively dividing the country into FRELIMO and RENAMO supported provinces.

From 1994, economic liberalisation transformed Mozambique into one of the fastest growing economies in the world. But it remains one of the poorest countries, with about 70 percent of its population living in poverty. Compared to many other southern African countries, Mozambique has a low population density and a rich natural resource base. About 80 percent of the country's 17 million people live in rural areas subsisting off the land. Agriculture is fundamentally dependent on the 'health' of the land. Forests, grasslands, mangroves, freshwater lakes and rivers, and coastal waters provide, inter alia, food, building materials, traditional medicines and herbal remedies. Most of these natural assets are in a 'healthy' condition, partly as a result of war-related disruption of economic activities, low population densities and low levels of industrial development, most of which is concentrated in Maputo City and Beira. Environmental 'problems' are thus relatively localised, but some are thought to have become more serious in recent years.

*Malawi*³

Malawi gained independence in 1964, after 73 years of British colonial rule. Dr. Banda,

who had been Prime Minister from 1963, created an authoritarian one-party state in 1971, which persisted until the first multi-party elections in 1994. The United Democratic Front (UDF) won the 1994 election, and was re-elected in June 1999. Local elections were held for the first time in November 2000. The UDF won 70 percent of the wards, but voter turnout was very low.

Despite nearly 20 years of structural adjustment and economic reform, Malawi was ranked the world's ninth poorest country in 2000. Two-thirds of its 10 to 11 million inhabitants live in poverty. Ongoing or periodic hunger affects 80-90 percent of households in most communities, a significant increase from 30-40 percent of households a decade ago. Until recently, Malawi's population growth was amongst the highest in the world, but the impact of HIV/AIDS has slowed growth in recent years. Agriculture dominates the economy, with about 80 percent of Malawians reliant on subsistence farming. There is, however, limited arable land and very high population density, about 170 inhabitants per km². Patterns of land ownership reflect the colonial and post-independence legacy that created a dual system of large estate farms and small-holder plots. About 55 percent of small-holders have less than one hectare of cultivable land, which is insufficient to meet the basic food needs of a family. The result is intense pressure on available land and natural resources. Notwithstanding recent efforts to tackle poverty, prospects for the poor appear to be getting worse.

Both governments are seeking to address these challenges through, inter alia, the adoption of Poverty Reduction Strategies (GOM 2001 a,b; MPF 2001). Whilst their strategies acknowledge poverty-environment linkages, they do not provide clear direction for promoting sustainable livelihoods. To do so, will require improved understanding of poverty-environment issues, linkages and driving forces, and strategic sustainability interventions.

Poverty-Environment Issues⁴

These issues are inter-connected⁵ and it is difficult to determine their relative importance because they vary between and within countries, and from locality to locality,

and depend, inter alia, on stakeholder interests.

Deforestation and Use of Forest Products

There is significant deforestation around cities and towns, and along transport corridors, mainly due to people clearing forests for subsistence and commercial agriculture; setting bushfires for land-clearing and hunting; collecting wood for fuel and charcoal; logging and selective harvesting of hardwoods; and using various forest products.

Vast forest resources are an asset of inestimable value to Mozambique, offering enormous benefits and potential if used sustainably. By contrast, there has been an estimated 57 percent decline in total forest cover in Malawi from 1973 to 1998. It is estimated that deforestation was occurring at 3.5 percent per annum during this period and has since slowed to 1.6 percent per annum because of the scarcity of arable forested land. Yet Malawians are heavily dependent on fuel wood to meet their energy needs.

Land Degradation, Nutrient Depletion and Soil Erosion

This may be the most significant environmental issue affecting livelihood sustainability in Malawi because it undermines the foundation of the economy. In Mozambique, significant land degradation is a less significant localised problem, driven by unsustainable farming practices.

Managing Inland Water, Coastal and Marine Resources

Both countries have vast inland water resources. Mozambique's 2,700 km coastline also provides access to a range of coastal and marine resources, many of which are under increasing pressure from commercial fishing and artisanal fishers (mainly around Maputo and Beira); harvesting of mangroves; and, to a lesser extent, impacts on coral reefs. Damming for hydro-electric power and abstraction of water for irrigation affects river flow and associated downstream livelihood opportunities in Mozambique. Inland fisheries appear to be under-exploited, and offer significant developmental potential.

The country is exposed to serious flooding along several major rivers. Poor urban people are exposed to water pollution from industrial activities, and, more significantly, serious health risks associated with inadequate sewage, storm water and waste disposal, especially in urban areas.

Pressure on Malawi's five lakes, numerous rivers and aquifers is caused by, inter alia, sedimentation (due to soil erosion), and biological contamination (e.g., two thirds of the population use pit-latrines) and chemical contamination (e.g., by fertilisers and pesticides used in commercial agriculture). Despite apparently abundant water resources, concern is growing that these resources may not be sufficient to meet future demand.

Fishing provides 70 percent of the animal protein intake at the household level and employs, directly or indirectly, nearly 250,000 people in Malawi. Pressure on fish resources is mainly due to over-fishing.

Loss of Wildlife and Biodiversity

In Mozambique, armed conflict caused the virtual collapse of management in protected areas and massive slaughter of large game species, with many species becoming locally extinct or confined to significantly reduced ranges. Habitat remains largely intact and the reintroduction of game could underpin new nature-based, pro-poor tourism ventures. Ongoing conflicts between local farmers and wildlife, however, pose a challenge. Unless local people derive tangible benefits from wildlife, pressure on these resources will increase.

Malawi has an estimated 69 plant species and more than 1,000 fish species that are endemic. Most wild land-based plants and animals have been adversely affected by human activities, mainly due to habitat loss. Large mammal species of commercial value have been decimated. Protected areas are under increasing pressure from human encroachment and poaching. A combination of over-fishing, water pollution and alien plant and fish introductions contribute to the loss of aquatic biodiversity.

Quality of Life in Urban Areas

There has been a dramatic increase in the rate of urbanisation in Malawi, with 23.5 percent of the population urbanised in 1999 compared to 7.7 percent in 1975. An estimated 60-70 percent of the population living in the four major urban areas live in traditional housing or unplanned squatter settlements; without ready access to basic services and exposed to a range of environmental hazards and associated health risks.

In Mozambique, migration to urban areas increased significantly during the war, and continues as people seek better economic prospects. Poor infrastructure and inadequate provision of basic services generate serious health risks, especially during the rainy season when flooding is commonplace.

Other Environmental Issues

There has been a concerted effort to promote industrial mega-projects in Mozambique. These projects are subject to environmental impact assessments (EIAs), but the capacity to monitor the impacts and enforce laws is limited.

Air pollution is a localised problem, mainly associated with uncontrolled industrial activities and solid waste burning in urban centres. Uncontrolled bush fires and mining operations also create air pollution in some rural areas. Attention needs to be given to respiratory and related health problems arising from the use of wood fuel and charcoal for domestic cooking and heating.

Poverty-Environment Linkages

Attention is focused on four generic linkages that need to be considered in identifying driving forces and strategic interventions.

Environmental Issues and Livelihood Opportunities

Livelihood prospects are hampered by activities that undermine the sustainability of the natural resource base. The associated loss of direct and indirect ecosystem benefits is especially problematic in times of food-stress, at times compelling poor people to migrate or adopt undesirable livelihood strategies, such as theft or prostitution.

Environmental Issues and Empowerment

Being able to assume responsibility for how natural resources are managed is empowering. Insecure tenure is a powerful disincentive for making long-term investments in land and natural resources. In Mozambique, despite the introduction of the Land Law (Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development 1997), which aims to protect customary rights, communal interests and provide equality for men and women, insecure tenure is commonplace, and the threat of alienation is of particular concern to marginalized communities. Insecure tenure is also prevalent in Malawi, despite the introduction of a National Land Policy (GOM 2000d), which aims to improve tenure security and the efficiency and transparency of land transactions. More generally, decentralisation and local empowerment per se do not guarantee sustainability. A wide variety of policies, regulations and processes create incentives or disincentives for adopting sustainable practices, including pricing policies, taxes and subsidies, as well as processes of inclusive decision-making.

Environmental Issues and Human Capabilities

Environmental conditions have an important impact on health and future livelihood prospects. For instance, access to sufficient food, water, sanitation, shelter and avoidance of exposure to pollutants is essential for achieving one's potential. Environmental conditions in urban areas pose a serious challenge in this regard. HIV/AIDS and malaria are major causes of death, ill-health and reduced productivity; and their implications are only now beginning to be appreciated.

Environmental Issues and Security

Natural hazards, such as droughts and floods, impose massive costs on poor people because they are less able to cope with sudden 'environmental shocks.' Many Malawians are also experiencing growing personal insecurity because of an increase in petty theft and violent crimes.

Poverty-Environment Driving Forces⁶

The driving forces behind poverty and environmental degradation in Mozambique

are rooted in years of armed conflict, reinforced by the recent adoption of neo-liberal market policies that foster a 'frontier mentality' to the exploitation of the country's natural assets. There is increasing pressure on natural resources as people return to lands abandoned during the armed conflict to resume subsistence livelihoods. Land conflict is growing, despite introduction of the Land Law. Much needed improvements to transport and communications infrastructure are increasing accessibility to remote areas, and, paradoxically, are fuelling unsustainable practices. These pressures are compounded by unsustainable commercial practices, e.g., logging hardwoods and harvesting wildlife, which are often driven by international demands and interests, and facilitated by self-serving local people and corrupt officials.

In Malawi, unsustainable practices are driven by population pressure and inequitable access to land. This, in turn, has its roots in colonial and post-independence policies that favoured estate farms over small-holders, who continue to face persistent tenure insecurity, and the manipulation of development efforts to serve political ends and elite interests. In essence, the underlying driving force behind unsustainable practices in Malawi is *governance failure*: the fundamental inability to translate sound policy rhetoric into improved livelihood opportunities at the local level.

In both countries, these underlying driving forces are compounded by widespread mal-administration, corruption and nepotism. There is little appreciation of the value of natural resources and their potential contribution to economic and social development. Efforts to promote sustainable livelihoods are hampered by inadequate Government capacity, poor co-ordination, outdated and overlapping legislation, and inadequate enforcement of existing laws. Government authorities cannot provide basic infrastructure and social services. Despite recognition of the need to promote gender equity, there is often a mismatch between customary and legal rights, with women being especially disadvantaged in the patrilineal systems prevalent in both

countries. Poor people are disadvantaged by the tendency for political affiliations to run along ethnic lines, with economic and political power geographically concentrated. Civil society is too weak to mobilise effective local action.

These driving forces are further compounded by reliance on rain-fed agriculture in a region prone to weather extremes; poor farming practices; and indiscriminate land clearing, bush-burning and deforestation. The lack of affordable alternative energy options forces reliance on wood-fuel and charcoal, driving unsustainable exploitation of forest resources. The narrow base and limited capacity of the economy, mainly reliant on agriculture and exposed to trade barriers and declining prices for key export crops, limits off-farm employment opportunities. Debt servicing, and poor alignment of 'real' donor and Government agendas, further constrains efforts to promote sustainable livelihoods.

Nonetheless, there are opportunities to promote sustainable livelihoods in Mozambique and Malawi, including relative political stability; pro-poor and pro-environmental laws; Government support for private sector investment; an economic and political climate conducive to community-public-private partnerships; inter-disciplinary research capabilities and experience in several tertiary education institutions; and international support to help make the transition towards sustainable livelihoods.

A major distinction between these two countries is Mozambique's abundant natural resources relative to its population. Environmental degradation is **not** the chief livelihood concern in Mozambique at this point in time. The pre-eminent poverty-environment challenge is to realise the developmental potential offered by the country's rich natural capital, on a sustainable basis and in the interests of poor people. Like Malawi, livelihood sustainability is dependent on building *political will and governance capacity*.

Strategic Sustainability Interventions

This brief overview of poverty-environment issues, linkages and driving forces suggests

three interventions to promote sustainable livelihoods in Mozambique and Malawi:

Build 'Linked' Institutional Capacity to Improve Governance

The key governance challenge is to build political will and institutional capacity to promote sustainable livelihoods; with a particular focus on developing practical linkages to translate national policies, laws and regulations into action at the local level. This perspective should inform the revision and implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategies in both countries.

Improve Understanding of Sustainable Livelihoods – 'Elicitive Learning'

Four directions of analysis should be explored. Firstly, there is a need to develop in-depth, context-specific understanding of sustainable livelihoods. Secondly, there is a need to improve understanding of the comparative and competitive advantages of different sectors in promoting sustainable livelihoods. Thirdly, there is a need to review, synthesise the lessons learned and develop best practice guidelines based upon past community based natural resource management efforts. These analyses should be complemented by improved sustainability information gathering and monitoring. Finally, an awareness, education and skills development programme focused on sustainable livelihoods should be developed and implemented. In Mozambique, the prevailing approach of economic growth through mega-projects needs to be critically reviewed in terms of its impact on sustainable livelihoods.

Take Action through Local Demonstration Projects

Local demonstration projects are recommended as a key strategic intervention to bridge the gap between policy rhetoric and local action. These projects should target those sectors and localities that offer the best prospects of yielding tangible successes that can serve as catalysts for replication.

Conclusion

Tackling poverty and environmental issues in an integrated manner requires interventions at different scales. There is a

variety of national or 'macro-level' structural and governance issues that need to be addressed to establish a policy and institutional framework that promotes sustainability at the local or 'micro-level,' including improved access to justice, inclusive and transparent decision-making processes, tackling corruption, integration across sectors, economic and financial reforms, and public service restructuring. Many recent governmental and donor-supported efforts are focused on these issues. At the same time, however, macro-level initiatives must be tested and translated into action at the local or micro-level, for it is at the local level that the tragedy of poverty is most keenly felt, and where the success or failure of macro-level interventions must be judged.

In conclusion, poor people in Mozambique and Malawi, like other poor people in southern Africa, face many of the same poverty-environment issues that are linked in similar ways, and they are subject to common driving forces. Attention needs to be focused three strategic sustainable livelihood interventions: Build 'linked' institutional capacity; improve understanding of sustainable livelihoods; and initiate local demonstration projects that foster locally relevant sustainability strategies and serve as catalysts for replication. But these interventions may need to be carried out in radically different ways, given locally distinctive ecological, political, social, cultural and economic conditions. Although, Mozambicans and Malawians are neighbours, they might as well be worlds apart. (2995 words)

Notes

¹ This paper synthesises and extends a short review of the driving forces behind key poverty-environment linkages in Mozambique and Malawi (Glavovic 2002a, b). Commissioned by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), this review was based on a review of literature, interviews and workshops with key role-players in both countries, including leaders and opinion-makers in Government, civil society, donor organisations, academia

and the private sector. Cathy Bill provided valuable support in researching and synthesising background material on poverty, livelihoods and environmental issues in Mozambique and Malawi. Steven Telford and Patricia Nicolau, from Impacto (Mozambique), and Hannock Kumwenda and Jimmy Kawaya, from JED Consulting (Malawi), made important contributions to this research. Catriona Patterson, Alicia Herbert and Joanne Manda from DFID participated in the Malawi workshops, and Catriona provided valuable comments on the draft reports. These unpublished reports served internal DFID purposes, and the views expressed here do not reflect the views of DFID in any way. The usual author's caveats apply to this paper.

² See e.g., Abrahamsson & Nillson 1995; MPR 1998; UNDP 1999, 2000 a, b, c, d, 2001; Datt et al. 2000; FAO 2000; Ferraz et al. 2000; World Bank 2000; SIDA 2001; Waterhouse & Vijhuizen 2001.

³ See e.g., Mwanza 1999; Chilowa 2000; Chilowa & Milner 2000; GOM 2000 a,b,c; UNDP 2001; World Bank 2001; Mansure & Cuco 2002; Wanmali undated.

⁴ See e.g., DNFFB 1999; Pereira 2000; GOM 2001 c; Hatton & Couto 2001; MICOA 1997, 1998.

⁵ For example, slash-and-burn agricultural practices clear forest vegetation increasing the risk of soil erosion and land degradation. Whilst opening up new land for agriculture, such practices can adversely affect productivity and potentially increase food insecurity. Soil erosion also increases the silt load of rivers, which when deposited downstream may affect the productivity of coastal or lake ecosystems. Agricultural practices far inland can consequently affect ecosystem function and fisheries productivity many miles away. The livelihoods of coastal or lake-shore communities may thus be adversely affected by farming practices far inland.

⁶ See e.g., Hanlon 1996; Cramer & Pontara 1998; Tobin & Knausenberg 1998; Pitcher 1999; Chilowa 2000; Ferraz & Munslow 2000; Kleemeier 2000; Brouwer 2002; O'Laughlin 2002; Shafer & Bell 2002.

References

- Abrahamsson, H. & A. Nilsson (1995) *Mozambique: The Troubled Transition*. Zed Books, London.
- Ardnt, C. (2000) A CGE Analysis of Mozambique. *World Development* 28(7): 1307-1326.
- Brouwer, R. (2002) The Risks of Repeating History: The New Land Law in Mozambique, Unpublished paper, Department of Forest Engineering, University of Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo, Mozambique.
- Chilowa, W. (2000) Adjustment impact on social policy implementation in Malawi. Paper presented at the SARIPS Annual Colloquium titled Regional Integration in Southern Africa: Past, Present and Future, 24-28 September, 2000, Harare, Zimbabwe.
- Chilowa, W. & J. Milner (2000) Social Policy in the Context of Economic Reforms in Malawi: The Survival and Adaptive Strategies of Vulnerable Groups, Monitoring Survey Report No. 4, Southern African Regional Institute for Policy Studies, Zomba.
- Cramer, C. & N. Pontara (1998) Rural poverty and poverty alleviation in Mozambique: What's missing from the debate? *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(1):101-138.
- Datt, G., Simler, K., Mukherjee, S. & G. Dava (2000) *Determinants of Poverty in Mozambique: 1996-1997*. International Food Policy Research Institute, Food Consumption and Nutrition Division, FCND Discussion Paper No. 78.
- DNFFB (1999) *The National Forestry and Wildlife Policy and Strategy*. DNFFB, Maputo, Mozambique.
- FAO (2000) *Determinants of Poverty in Mozambique: 1996-97*, Food consumption and Nutrition Division.
- Ferraz, B. & B. Munslow (ed.) (2000) *Sustainable development in Mozambique*. Africa World Press.
- Glavovic, B.C. (2002a) Poverty and the environment: An analysis of the linkages and driving forces in Mozambique. Unpublished report prepared for the United Kingdom's Department for International Development, Cape Town: Common Ground Consulting.
- Glavovic, B.C. (2002b) Poverty and the environment: An analysis of the linkages and driving forces in Malawi. Unpublished report prepared for the United Kingdom's Department for International Development, Cape Town: Common Ground Consulting.
- Government of Malawi (2000a) *Integrated Household Survey 1997-98*. National Statistical Office, Malawi.
- Government of Malawi (2000b) *QUIM Survey of Poverty Alleviation Policies and Programmes 2000*. National Economic Council and the Department of Local Government, Malawi.
- Government of Malawi (2000c) *Vision 2020: The National Long-term Development Perspective for Malawi*. National Economic Council, Malawi.
- Government of Malawi (2000d) *National Land Policy of Malawi (Version 27) 2000*. Ministry of Lands, Housing, Physical Planning and Surveys, Malawi.
- Government of Malawi (2001a) *Draft: Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*. National Economic Council, Malawi.
- Government of Malawi (2001b) *National Safety Nets Programme: Programme Concept Document*. National Economic Council, Malawi.
- Government of Malawi (2001c) *Malawi's National Forestry Programme: Priorities for Improving Forestry and Livelihoods*. Ministry of Natural Resources and Environmental Affairs, Malawi.
- Hanlon, J. (1996) *Peace without profit: How the IMF blocks rebuilding in Mozambique*. James Currey, Oxford.
- Hatton, J. & M. Couto (2001) Biodiversity and War: A Case Study from Mozambique. Unpublished report for the Biodiversity Support Program, Impacto, Maputo.
- Kleemeier, E. (2000) The impact of participation on sustainability: An

- analysis of the Malawi Rural Piped Scheme Program. *World Development* 28(5):929-944.
- Macamo, E. (1998) The Role of the State in Poverty Alleviation in a War Torn Society - The Case Study of Mozambique, Paper presented at CROP workshop.
- Mansure, E. & A. Cuco (2002) Building a Community Forestry Framework in Mozambique: Local Communities in Sustainable Forest Management. Paper prepared for the Second International Workshop on Participatory Forestry in Africa, Arusha, 18-23 February 2002.
- MICOA (1997) *Strategy and Areas for Action for the Conservation of Biological Diversity in Mozambique*. Ministério para a Coordenação da Acção Ambiental. Maputo, Moçambique.
- MICOA (1998) *The Biological Diversity of Mozambique*. Ministério para a Coordenação da Acção Ambiental, Maputo, Moçambique.
- Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (1997) *Land Law*. Maputo, Moçambique.
- MPF (2001) *Action Plan for the reduction of absolute poverty (2001-2005) (PARPA)*. Final Version Approved by the Council of Ministers, April 2001, Ministry of Planning and Finance. Maputo, Moçambique.
- Mwanza, A (ed.) (1999) *Social Policy in an Agricultural Economy: The Case of Malawi*. Sappho.
- O’Laughlin, B. (2002) Proletarianisation, agency and changing rural livelihoods: Forced labour and resistance in colonial Mozambique. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(3):511-530.
- Pereira, C., (2000) *The Licensing and Forest Harvesting law enforcement for woodfuel production in Maputo Province- A general overview*. UEM, FAEF, DEF. Maputo, Moçambique.
- Pitcher, M.A. (1999) “What’s missing”? A reply to C. Cramer and N. Pontara *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37(4):697-709.
- Schafer, J. & R. Bell (2002) The state and community-based natural resource management: The case of the Moribane Forest Reserve, Mozambique. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2):401-420.
- SIDA (2001) *Environmental Profile of Mozambique*. Swedish Embassy. Maputo Moçambique.
- Tobin R.J. & W.W. Knausenberger (1998) Dilemmas of development: Burley tobacco, the environment and economic growth in Malawi. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24(2):405-425.
- UNDP (1999) *Mozambique: National Human Development Report 1998: Peace and Economic Growth: Opportunities for Human development*. UNDP, Maputo.
- UNDP (2000a) *Mozambique: Creating Spaces: Government Institutions and Communities in Dialogue – Lessons Learned from the PROAREA Sustainable Rural Development Project*. UNDP, Maputo.
- UNDP (2000b) *Mozambique: National Human Development Report 1999: Economic growth and human development: Progress, Obstacles and Challenges*. UNDP, Maputo.
- UNDP (2000c) *Mozambique: National Human Development Report 2000: Education and Human Development: Trajectory, Lessons and Challenges for the 21st Century*. UNDP, Maputo.
- UNDP (2000d) *Mozambique: Rapid Assessment of National Anti-Poverty Programmes*. UNDP, Maputo.
- UNDP (2001) *Human Development Report 2001*. www.undp.org/hdr2001/back.pdf
- Vogel, C. & J. Smith (2002) The politics of scarcity: Conceptualising the current food security crisis in southern Africa *South African Journal of Science*, 98:315-317.
- Wanmali, S. (undated). *Sustainable Livelihoods in Malawi: A case study*, UNDP Sustainable Livelihoods Unit, www.undp.org/sl/Documents/documents.html
- Waterhouse, R. & C. Vijfhuizen (eds.) (2001) *Gender, land and natural resources in different rural contexts in*

Mozambique, Nucleo de Estudos de Terra, Faculty of Agronomy and Forestry Engineering & Actionaid, Mozambique.

World Bank (2000) *Countries: Mozambique: Historical, economic, political and development context.*
www.worldbank.org/afr.mzs.html

World Bank (2001) *Countries: Malawi.*
www.worldbank.org